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security forces in further detail, but for the moment I want to confine my attention to security in the Colony.

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The Colony, to all outward appearances, and they can be very deceptive, always seemed to be one of the most peaceful places on earth where nothing was ever likely to happen, but in fact it only required a minor incident at the wrong time to cause really serious trouble and to do so not within a matter of days, but almost of minutes. The reason, of course, is not far to seek; it is that there are in the Colony three races who have no special love for each other. The Jews are disliked and despised by the Arabs whom they fear, while the Arabs in their turn dislike the Somalis who are, at the best of times, a truculent lot. Therefore, we were always liable to have trouble between the Arabs and the Jews which might well spread to the Hindu community, or between the Somalis and the Arabs, or between all three, and in no time, much to the surprise very often of successive Air Officers Commanding, the summer skies had clouded over and we were having a devil of a storm, which with firm measures would pass as quickly as it began. A stranger would be astonished to learn on his arrival in tranquil Aden that inter-racial disturbances had resulted in one or two deaths only two or three days before.

I do not want to give the impression that Aden is particularly prone to disorder, and that civil disturbances are the rule rather than the exception because this would be a false picture. What I mean is that, on the rare occasions when there is trouble, it comes with incredible swiftness, due to the latent racial animosities that are always present.

To give an instance of my first experience of the speed of events when inter-racial trouble started in the Colony, I must go back to 1931, when there occurred the first anti-Jewish riot. At that time there were some 6,000 Jews living in Aden, most of them in Crater in their own quarter close by the Boys' Secondary School. Some of them were very wealthy and most of them were in business either as shopkeepers or merchants or petty traders, and generally speaking, they kept very much to themselves, were self-effacing and their contacts with the Arabs were reasonably good. From time to time,

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however, the younger elements of the Jewish community became a little swollen headed and were inclined to be somewhat truculent and walk three abreast down the pavement, forcing everyone else into the street, and when this began to happen experience showed that there was quite likely to be trouble. The Arabs consider that the Jews are their social inferiors and provided they keep their place, or what the Arabs consider to be their place, there is no trouble at all and the two communities may live side by side in peace for years; but as soon as the Jews tended to forget that they were Jews and began to assert themselves as men, then there was always a likelihood of serious trouble.

One afternoon, the Resident, as the Governor was called in those days, went to Crater to present prizes at the Boys' Secondary School and I, as his Personal Assistant, went with him. We left the Secondary School building about 7 p.m., and drove back to the Residency and when we did so the streets in Crater were just as they usually are, and as we passed by the Jewish quarter there was no sign of any excitement whatsoever. Some twenty minutes later we arrived back at the Residency and I hurried off to change as there was to be a dinner party that evening and it was my duty to meet the guests on their arrival. I was having my bath when the telephone rang in my office next door, and draping a towel round my waist I hurried into the office and picked up the instrument.

"Menahem Messa speaking. I must speak to the Resident at once," said a voice.

Now, Selim Menahem Messa was the most important member of the Jewish community and a man of very considerable wealth indeed.

"I am afraid, Mr. Menahem Messa, that the Resident is busy at the moment, but I can give him a message if you like," I answered.

"Yes, tell him that we must have help at once, tell him that we are all being killed," said the voice.

"Who is being killed?" I asked.

"The Jews. The Arabs are killing us. We must have help."

I was, of course, astonished, as we had only just come back

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579 from very peaceful Crater and I assumed that I had to deal with a lunatic who must be humoured, or with some attempt at a practical joke.

"All right," I said, "I shall see the Resident in a few minutes and then I will let him know what you have said."

I then went back to my bath and had scarcely finished it and was putting on my trousers when the Office Orderly came in and said that the Sergeant of the Residency Guard wished to see me: the Sergeant reported that two Jews, who seemed to be very excited, had arrived in a car and demanded to see the Resident. The Sergeant wanted to know what he was to do, so I told him to bring them to my office at once. I had scarcely completed dressing before the Sergeant was back again with a couple of white-faced Jews who started speaking as soon as they saw me. They demanded to see the Resident; they said the Jews were being murdered; they said the Authorities were doing nothing and that the police would not help, and so on and so forth. When eventually I did succeed in stopping the spate of words, I rang up the Commissioner of Police only to be told that he had gone to the Crater Police Station. This was the second shock I had that evening, because it certainly looked as if something unusual was happening in Crater if the Commissioner of Police had gone there when he should have been having his dinner. I rang up the Crater Police Station and the telephone Orderly confirmed that the Commissioner had been there, but that he and the Inspector had gone off to the Jewish quarter where a disturbance had been reported between the Arabs and Jews. He did not ease my mind at all when he said that the Armed Police had been called out, but I confess I still found it extremely hard to believe that there was anything approaching a major disturbance because everything had been so peaceful and so ordinary when we ourselves had been in Crater little more than half an hour earlier.

However, I left instructions with the Crater Police Station for the Commissioner to ring up the Residency as soon as he returned, and leaving the Jews in my office with the Sergeant of the Guard, I went into the Residency, to the Resident's

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bedroom where he was changing for dinner. I told him what had happened, and as soon as he was dressed he came with me to my office where he listened to what the Jews had to say, pacified them and sent them away; he then asked me to go as quickly as possible to the Crater police station.

The street outside the Secondary School was full of people, but just beyond the school and between the school and the Police Station, which was about 200 yards away, it was empty because the houses along one side of the street were occupied by Jews who seemed to have become hysterical and were on their roof-tops throwing stones indiscriminately at anyone passing in the street below. I left the car at the school— it was too big a target—and ran across no-man's land, arriving at the Police Station without misadventure, where I found that the commissioner had just arrived. He was cool and collected as he always was in a crisis, but he was quite unable to say what was the cause of the riot. All that he knew then was that it started just after the Resident and I had left the Secondary School, when the congregation of a Mosque on the outskirts of the Jewish quarter had, in the middle of evening prayer, become highly excited and rushed out and started to try and break into the Jewish houses nearby, the while vowing vengeance on the inhabitants. The police had acted promptly and no serious damage had been done, but the wildest rumours were flying about and crowds of Arabs were collecting in the streets. The Jews, as usual, had lost their nerve and barricaded themselves inside their houses and started throwing anything that came to their hands from their windows and their roofs at all and sundry in the streets below. The Commissioner, who had called out his Armed Police and posted guards on Menahem Messa's house—he was known to have a very large sum of silver coin on the premises—felt that he could control the situation and did not at that time want any military assistance. He promised to report in an hour's time, or sooner, should the situation deteriorate, and I hurried off back to the Residency to let the Resident know what I had discovered.

The next morning the situation was still tense, and although there had been no further outbreaks of violence, it was decided

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• 579 to send the armoured cars to Crater and to relieve some of the police who had behaved splendidly throughout, to give them a much-needed rest by detailing soldiers to carry out their duties temporarily.

Meanwhile in the Residency office at Tawahi we were having a rather tiresome time because the most extraordinary telegrams were coming in from London calling for reports, asking how many Jews had been killed and showing clearly that the powers that be had got the impression that the slaughter was wholesale. They had to be answered, and were, but what was to us more important was to find out who was sending false reports to London, and for this purpose censorship was imposed on all telegrams being sent from Aden which had any reference to the riot.

The night passed without incident and the next morning the Resident went to Crater and called personally on Menahem Messa. He found everything was quiet and though alarmed, Menahem Messa was quite satisfied with the arrangements which had been made by the authorities to ensure the safety of the Jews. When he returned I showed him a telegram which had just been sent to me by the Eastern Telegraph Company under the censorship regulations. It was addressed to a Jewish organisation in London; it referred to a pogrom of the Jews and complained that the authorities refused to take adequate measures to protect the Jews. It had, in fact, been sent from Menahem Messa's house while the Resident was actually in the house talking to Menahem Messa. It must be recorded though, in fairness to Menahem Messa, that he himself knew nothing about it and was in no way responsible.

During this riot no one was killed and only one person was seriously injured and that was a Somali milkman, who, for some unknown reason, was stabbed; and there were not in fact very many minor injuries during the whole course of the ruction.

Later we discovered that the immediate cause of the riot was a parcel of filth which had been thrown out of a Jewish window in the direction of the night soil passage alongside the house, but it had missed its mark and landed in the middle

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of the Mosque at prayer time. This is just an example of a careless incident which can start trouble in Aden.

Another example of inter-racial tension, and one which did not end so happily, came about in 1947 when events in Palestine, and the foolish behaviour locally of people who should have known better, put a match to the sensitive tinder that is Aden. The result was horrible because of the appalling speed with which order dissolved into chaos, and murder and pillage came to the normally law-abiding town. It was a lesson which I, for one, was to heed in the years to come.

Events outstripped the precautions taken, and the police were unable to control the situation, with the result that the Civil Authority had to abdicate temporarily and control passed to the Military, and the Air Officer Commanding called upon the Aden Protectorate Levies to restore order. They were tried beyond their breaking point and they proved at that time to be unreliable in an inter-racial dispute involving their co-religionists and the hated Jews. To resolve the situation troops had to be brought in by air and Naval ratings landed from hastily summoned warships; order was restored speedily, but not before many people had died and much of Crater in and around the Jewish quarter had become a blackened ruin of buildings.

Compensation was paid to the worse sufferers, Jew and Gentile alike, by the Government of Aden, and loans were granted, many of which have still to be repaid in spite of the solemn undertakings and promises given and entered into by the Jews. There was, of course, an inquiry into the disturbances, and the need to maintain in Aden a detachment of British troops for Internal Security purposes was recognised. So does good come from evil.

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The Jews, many of whom had that inborn longing for the promised land which is a characteristic of their race, fled to Palestine in ever-increasing numbers, until a few years later there were scarcely 700 Jews left in Aden. The Jewish community had ceased to be a factor in the affairs of the Colony.

The erstwhile Muslim leaders, frightened and sobered by what they had failed to prevent, tried to prove that the damage

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had been done by the foreign elements in the population and blamed the Yemen labourers in the harbour, the cargo and the coal coolies, but they knew full well that the Yemenis had not been responsible for starting the trouble and had not been alone in the pillaging and fire-raising. However, this hare was duly hunted, and the control of landward immigration became a disturbing major problem and many and curious were the proposals and plans that were considered. A great fence was to be built round the landward side of the Colony, twenty to thirty miles in length at a cost which no-one troubled to discover; the Colony was to be cut in half by another fence across the Isthmus, turning Khormaksar and Sheikh Othman into a vast squatter camp of undesirables who could not gain entrance into the Fortress Area; watch towers with search-lights were to be constructed and supplemented by police motor patrols; the population was to be registered and the coolie lines moved from the vulnerable Steamer Point area, all complete with the coal wharves that they served and which were such an eyesore, across the harbour to the northern side. Gradually a more balanced view prevailed and only the last proposals became actualities. The population has been registered and the coolies have been moved, not across the harbour, but from their disgraceful overcrowded dormitories to modern comfortable lines at Ma'alla; and the coal wharves are under construction, but whether there will be any coal to put on them when they are finished is quite a different matter. Every year less and less coal is imported into Aden, for ships bunkers, and very shortly the coaling ship will be almost unique.

I do not propose at this juncture to refer to the breaches of the peace which occurred during the labour disturbances in 1955 when the Police Force behaved so admirably—that will come later—but I am going to relate two more examples of the speed with which events in the internal security field can move in Aden.

Less than two months after I became Governor I flew to Mukeiras for a few days. The day after my arrival I heard and saw an aeroplane circling round the landing ground, and

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something seemed to tell me that it was a bad omen; so I packed a bag quickly (my servants had gone to the local village not expecting that they would be required) and hurried across to the landing ground, arriving there just after the plane touched down. It was the acting Chief Secretary, with news of trouble: a Jewish girl had declared that she had become a Muslim and had left her mother's house and gone to the home of the father of the young Muslim she proposed to marry. The girl's mother had applied to the Court, and as the girl was a minor, the Judge of the Supreme Court had issued an order that she was to be restored to her mother's custody. It was scarcely necessary for the acting Chief Secretary to tell me that there was considerable excitement in the town. It was only to be expected, and I recalled the trouble that had arisen recently over a very similar situation in another Colony. I had no option but to return immediately, which I did, and on arrival in Aden I sent for the Air Officer Commanding and for the Attorney-General and the Commissioner of Police; and then asked the Judge of the Supreme Court to call and inform us what action he had taken. What he had done was perfectly clear, and although from an administrative point of view exasperating in the extreme, was legally correct and unavoidable, and it was difficult to see how he could have done anything else. What we had got to do was just as exasperating, but equally clear, and that was to see that the order of the Court was carried out and that the girl was restored to her mother's house.

The Commissioner of Police left us in no doubt about the feeling in the Colony and what would result when the girl, now a Muslim, was taken by force; she would not go willingly to her mother's house—the house of a Jewess—and he informed us of the arrangements he proposed to make if he had to carry out the order of the Court which he said quite frankly he hoped would not be necessary in view of the tense situation in the Colony. I made it quite clear to him that the Court's order must be carried out, but that I was prepared to delay its execution for forty-eight hours—sufficient time for such precautions as would have to be made to deal with any disturbance,

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579 and time for me to try and settle the matter by personal negotiation with the leaders of the two communities. The Air Officer Commanding was perfectly agreeable to my request for British troops to be moved to Crater immediately before the Commissioner of Police carried out the order of the Court, and he co-operated in every way, but he did ask whether it was advisable to bring the military into it before it appeared to be absolutely necessary. I told him that in my experience, whenever there was a serious civil disturbance, or the likelihood that there would be one, the Governor would certainly be blamed whatever action he took, and that that was the only certainty there ever was in these affairs. If adequate measures were taken and in consequence there was no disturbance, then I should be accused of being over-cautious and worse. On the other hand, if adequate measures were not taken and there was a riot and there were casualties, then I should be accused, and rightly, of having failed to take adequate measures to ensure the maintenance of law and order. As I was going to be blamed whatever happened I would rather be blamed for being too careful than for not having been careful enough. The Air Officer Commanding on this occasion, as on every occasion when I had to call upon him, gave me his wholehearted support, and if we had had trouble, there would have been no doubt about the co-operation between the Civil and Military Authorities.

Immediately my conference was over I sent for the leader of the Jewish community and the Pakistani Muslim contractor to whose house the girl had gone. The Muslim contractor was only too willing to do everything he could, and the Jew, after he had blamed everyone, except the girl and his own community for what had occurred, also expressed his willingness to try and solve the problem, and at my request they met together and later in the morning they came to see me and suggested that the girl, should she refuse to return home, should go to the house of a European doctor who lived outside the town and remain with his wife for the time being until the excitement had died down. Unfortunately, the girl's mother, who was a widow, would not agree to this procedure and insisted on the girl being returned to her house. At her request

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I saw the old lady that evening, and I can well understand why her daughter decided to leave home. She did not hesitate to tell me what she thought of me and everybody else and to bang my desk with her clenched fist until the pens and pencils flew all over the place; the Commissioner of Police jumped to his feet thinking that she would have to be restrained physically. She calmed down eventually and was taken away, but not before I had explained to her that her daughter, who was eighteen years old, would be returned to her house, but that she was not entitled to keep her in the house by force, and if she could not persuade her to stay, then the girl was entitled to leave again, and if she did leave she would be taken by the Commissioner of Police to the European doctor's house whose wife was willing and ready to receive her. It was at this interview that I discovered that the girl was, in fact, the Jewish leader's sister-in-law.

After much coming and going by everyone concerned, and many who were not, all through the morning and afternoon of Friday as tension mounted, the girl's fears were overcome and she agreed to go and see her mother. Late on Friday night she was taken in a closed car from the contractor's house to her mother's house. The old lady soundly upbraided her daughter in the presence of the Commissioner of Police and the doctor's wife, whereupon the girl refused to remain at home, and being free to depart she was taken at once to the doctor's house. Technically the Order of the Court had been executed, or so the Attorney-General assured me, and for some strange reason everyone was quite satisfied. The excitement died down immediately; the troops did not have to be moved to Crater, and a week later, without the slightest objection from the Jewish community or from anyone else, the girl ran away from the doctor's house back to that of the Muslim contractor and was married to his son. Very extraordinary!

Three years later I was at a cabaret entertainment at one of the larger cinemas which was owned by the aforesaid contractor. The entertainment was in aid of some charity, precisely which charity I have forgotten, but I have not forgotten that at half-time the Proprietor came to my table and whispered

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579 in my ear that his son's wife would like to see me. So I rose and went through the back of the hall into a private house, and for the first time I met the Jewish girl who had been such an infernal nuisance three years earlier. She and her husband seemed extremely happy.

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829 As I have already indicated, it was not only strained relations between Arabs and Jews which might lead to serious disturbances in the Colony, but also the ill-feeling which existed between the Arabs and the Somalis. The Arabs disliked the Somalis, partly because of their truculent behaviour which they found difficult to tolerate from people who were darker in colour than themselves and whom they considered to be an inferior race, and partly because Somalis flocked over from their country to Aden in search of work which the local Arabs held, with a considerable degree of truth, to be their own prerogative.

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464 An example of Arab-Somali tension occurred in the spring of 1954, but on this occasion the trouble was over at Bureikha where the Aden Refinery had recently come "on stream". When the Refinery Management were considering various solutions to their labour recruiting problem they had been warned that they were inviting trouble if they employed too many Somalis in work which could be done by local or Protectorate Arabs. The advice had been accepted, but it had not been followed as strictly as it should have been, with the result that there was a considerable Somali labour force at the Refinery.

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579 It was my custom in the winter months to go out very early on Sunday morning along the Khormaksar Beach to Abiyan, either with a friend or by myself, except for my faithful personal guards, there to shoot duck, or possibly a goose, or both if I was really lucky, and this custom was well-known to the Chief Secretary. Occasionally I would go out the evening before and stay the night and although normally I always let the Chief Secretary know when I expected to be absent from the Colony for a night, I sometimes forgot to do so. It was not altogether surprising, therefore, when one Saturday night at about ten o'clock he rang up Government House and, getting no reply, thought it was because I was away, and assumed that

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I had gone shooting. In fact the A.D.C. and I had gone to bed very early and the orderly who should have been on duty at the telephone had either gone to sleep himself or gone in search of a cup of tea. The next morning when my early tea was brought at about six o'clock—(early rising was another, to my subordinates, objectionable habit of mine)—the servant who brought it asked me how the trouble at the Refinery was getting on. I asked him what he was talking about and he said:

"Oh, a riot started over at Bureikha last night and the troops have been called out."

I at once rang up the Chief Secretary and was not surprised when, even at that early hour, he answered the telephone immediately. I asked him what was happening, and when he had overcome his astonishment at finding that I was in Government House, he explained that late on Saturday afternoon an Arab watchman on the Refinery premises had arrested a Somali, or vice-versa—I forget precisely which it was—for loitering in a suspicious manner. Immediately there ran round the Arab and Somali coolie lines the most exaggerated rumours about the Somali or Arab having been brutally treated, and before very long the Somalis and the Arabs were at each other's throats. Police precautions were taken and everything was well in hand until the situation had deteriorated rapidly at about half-past nine at night, and the Commissioner of Police had felt it desirable to ask for military support. It was then that I had been called on the telephone by the Chief Secretary, because it is the Governor in person who should ask the Air Officer Commanding for military assistance. Not having received any reply, and assuming, as he did, that I was away, the Chief Secretary had then rung up the Air Officer Commanding himself and explained the situation whereupon, quite rightly, the Air Officer Commanding had despatched troops across to Bureikha.

I asked what the situation was and the Chief Secretary told me that he had no first-hand information as he had been unable to get through to the Commissioner of Police or to the Refinery Office. I, myself, rang up the Refinery and was lucky to find someone had just come into the office who told me

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563 that although there had been a lull in the rioting during the
• 579 night, it had again broken out and the Commissioner of Police and the Officer commanding the troops had gone off to deal with the new trouble.

I was not satisfied, and I determined to drive myself over to Bureikha at once and see precisely what was happening. I also decided that I would take the Audhali Sultan, who was on a visit to Aden, over with me because some four or five hundred of his tribesmen were employed in the Refinery, and his presence would certainly have a calming effect on them, and probably on the other Arabs as well. I telephoned him at his lodgings in Crater and found he was only too willing to help in any way. So, arranging to meet him *en route*, I dressed hastily and telephoned the Air Officer Commanding to let him know what I was going to do

I met the Audhali Sultan near Ma'alla, and in about half an hour we reached the Refinery coolie lines to find that about ten minutes before our arrival the rioting had stopped. It had stopped when a police officer, quite rightly, shot an Arab rioter who was about to undo a gateway which would have let a considerable number of furious Arabs into an area where there were only a few Somalis, who would undoubtedly have suffered severely, if they had not actually been killed.

I think on the whole that the Sultan and I did a certain amount of good in as much as we were able to walk round among the Arab rioters, or those who had been rioting, and advise them clearly and sternly to stop making a nuisance of themselves. The Somalis, who were outnumbered by the Arabs, had completely lost their heads and were behaving in a very provocative manner without giving thought to the consequences, were reassured by our presence, and by the time we left had begun to calm down. After having spoken to as many people as was possible and conferred with the Commissioner of Police and his officers and men, all of whom had acted in an exemplary manner, and also said a few words to the Officer commanding the troops who, I am glad to say, had not actually had to open fire, I went over to the Refinery hospital where the wounded, who were mostly Somalis,

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were being taken care of. I walked round and talked to them; there, also, I saw the Arab who had been shot, and learned that there was a reasonable chance that he would not succumb to his wound. This relieved my mind, because although sharp lessons are necessary when people behave as these people had, and when the occasion arises the police must do their duty even to the extreme length of opening fire on a crowd, one has in one's heart sympathy for the foolish and hates to see them suffer too much for their faults.

By the time the Sultan and I had finished our tour as it were, things were in much better shape, thanks to the efficiency of the police and the prompt action of the Police Officer who had fired and by so doing had brought a number of the rioters to their senses.

Two days later, except for stones and dustbin lids, which had been used by the Somalis as shields, lying about, there was practically no sign of the riot, and everybody appeared to be working together perfectly amicably.

The incidents which I have related above will give some idea of the speed with which the normal tranquillity of the Colony can be disturbed and a state of affairs come about which may require, not only police action of the most extreme nature, but also intervention by the military forces.

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The stationing of a detachment of the Royal Air Force Regiment was, as I have said, a direct development of the 1947 Arab-Jewish riots and the Commission of Inquiry into the riots which was held in January 1948 and which advocated the presence of British troops in the Colony for internal security purposes. They certainly have my deepest gratitude for their wise decision, but I would not like it to be thought for one moment that the Aden Protectorate Levies will never be fit to undertake Internal Security duties—far from it—even in the few years which lapsed between the riots and my return from Aden there has been considerable improvement in discipline, and although I consider that in fairness to all races the presence of British troops is still essential, there is no doubt that in time the Levies will be capable of undertaking any duty they may be required to perform. It is, like everything else, only a

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in its extent and the Refinery would not have been directly involved. As it was there was general confusion, with neither side acting rationally. Labour relations, never good, became chaotic with the employers determined to fight anything in the nature of a demand, however reasonable it might be; and many of the Union leaders were equally determined to have a strike, unjustified though it might be. Members of some Unions were brought out on strike before any demands had been put forward by the leaders to the Managements concerned and without any clear idea of why they were striking.

The only measure of agreement there was between the two parties was their condemnation of the conduct of my Government. One side, I leave you to guess which, said that the whole trouble was Communist inspired, or if not actually Communist then the work of the Nationalists which was much the same thing, and anyway the strikes were purely political in cause and conduct, and were not in any way industrial. In their view Government were dreadfully weak and lamentably biased and were doing nothing when they should have been deporting the rascally political leaders disguised as Trades Union officials. They had a great deal more to say, but it all amounted to one thing, that Government was gravely at fault. The opposite party was just as outspoken and did not hesitate to describe Government officials as harsh and the police as overbearing and tyrannical and, in fact, murderers. In their view the workmen were grossly oppressed and there was a distressing lack of sympathy for the downtrodden and so on and so forth. They considered that Government should force the employers to grant every single Union demand, reasonable or unreasonable, simply because it was a Trades Union demand.

In fact, of course, we did everything we could to prevent the strikes and to stop them spreading when once they started. The Labour Commissioner worked day and night to bring the parties together and try and solve their difficulties which were, whatever anyone may say, fundamentally industrial in origin. I, myself, met both sides time and time again, but to no avail. They were beyond rational thought.

At the same time the first essential was to maintain law and

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579 689 order in the Colony, and this was done with the minimum of force by the police supported by the military forces in the Colony. The fact that on two occasions the police were forced to open fire on rioters indicates how serious the situation was. It also indicates our determination to let nothing hinder us in the execution of our duty. Mercifully there were only two or three casualties, one of whom was a schoolboy who was killed by a stray shot while watching a crowd being prevented from storming the Tawahi Police Station in order to release a workman who, very properly, had been arrested. It was a tragic business. Some innocent person almost inevitably suffers on these occasions. I was, by chance, in Tawahi when the boy's funeral procession passed along the road and after it had gone by an elderly man, an Arab, walked up to me and said:

"You are responsible. It was murder."

Emotion had distorted his judgment, poor fellow, and I mention the incident only to indicate the unreasonableness that prevailed.

468 The Refinery Management kept their heads and showed good sense, as did some of the leading members of the Aden Trades Union Congress, several of whom worked indefatiguably to end the strikes. Without their help and understanding things would have been very much worse. As it was, normal conditions at the Refinery were restored in a comparatively short space of time, and then the pieces all fell into place again and the strikes were over, except in one or two cases where one side or the other was particularly stupid and unyielding.

625 In my opinion it was the Civil and Military security forces who came best out of this sorry affair. They were firm at the right time and lenient at the right time and their patience was admirable at all times. It was due to them that the situation did not become very much worse. It is only right that I should say so and that they should receive a few halfpence when they deserve them—they get enough kicks when they don't.

468 I ordered a Commission to be set up to inquire into the 466 cause of the strikes and to make recommendations for the

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of his refusal to co-operate was to make nonsense of the Aden Government prohibition order.

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Four months after the ban was imposed some of the Asiatic Unofficial Members of the Legislative Council had second thoughts and introduced a Motion in the Council to set up a Commission to inquire into the effectiveness of the ban and make a recommendation whether or not it should continue in force. The Commission was duly appointed and has recently produced its recommendations after hearing and receiving evidence from all conditions of people. They have recommended that the prohibition order be rescinded. Personally I regret their decision. I would have preferred to see the ban remain in force with some provision for the supply of limited and diminishing quantities of Qāt to confirmed addicts whose health would be adversely affected by total deprivation. I am sure that the Commission considered this solution but there were probably practical difficulties.

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In May of this year following on two bomb-throwing incidents in which twelve people were injured in one of the main centres of population in the Colony, the Governor declared a state of emergency. The purpose of the Governor's proclamation was to provide the police with additional powers under emergency regulations to prevent such acts of violence and to protect the lives and property of the public. Since the declaration of a state of emergency there have been several further incidents; mostly of no consequence, but one, an attempt, fortunately unsuccessful, to blow up the oil pipe-line connecting the Refinery at Bureikha with the bunkering installation at Steamer Point, was more serious. This is indeed a sorry state of affairs and the firm action of the Authorities is more than justified. It is to be hoped that they will have the full co-operation of the public in their efforts to prevent further outrages and to bring the perpetrators of those that have taken place to justice. I have no doubt that the inspiration for these crimes came from outside the Colony and, indeed, outside the Protectorate, though the tools may have been found nearer at hand. I am convinced that this is the work of hired assassins and I should be very surprised to learn that any

•579 political party, as such, in the Colony had any hand in these outrages which, if continued, will have disastrous consequences for every single individual in Aden.

646 668 In the legislative field there have been two important developments since I left Aden. The first of these has been in the Municipal Committee where, at the recent elections, the electorate returned fourteen elected Members to the Committee. Of these seven are so-called Nationalists, which would seem to be a clear indication that Nationalism is spreading and gaining ground rapidly. This may be correct, but on the other hand I have found in Aden and elsewhere in the world that extremists do not always remain extreme once they have obtained their object which in this case was membership of the Municipal Committee. There are signs that already something of the sort is happening, and provided that the situation is handled firmly but with understanding, there would not seem to be cause for alarm. The moderates are, by and large, rational people and on them must rest the responsibility for restraining their less experienced associates. Let them take their own line in the future as they have in the past and not allow themselves to be influenced unduly by public opinion.

642 646 178 The second and more important development is the fulfilment of the undertaking given by Lord Lloyd in 1956. The proposals for a major change in the Constitution were published on November 11th, 1957, as a Gazette Extraordinary. The proposals provide for a fundamental change in the structures of both the Executive and Legislative Councils. The precise date of implementation has not yet been published, but it would be safe to assume that provided there is no startling and unexpected reaction to the proposals, they will come into effect at the end of this year when the life of the present Legislative Council is due to expire. The reconstruction of the Legislative Council will result in the Unofficial elected Members of the Council having a majority for the first time. There are to be twelve such elected members representing single member constituencies in the Colony, five *ex-officio* members who will be the Air Officer Commanding, the Chief Secretary,

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THE COLONY

PART I

Review of 1947

Two events of outstanding importance took place during the year under review. The first was the inauguration of the Aden Colony Legislative Council on 6th January, the second was the outbreak of rioting, murder and arson which occurred in December following the United Nations decision to partition Palestine.

The Governor when bringing the Council into existence stated that he was sharing in a constitutional act of the greatest importance for the right government of this small but busy territory and for the welfare of its peoples; and that the Colony was witnessing a political development that is typical of those democratic principles on which His Majesty's Government rely for the wise, humane and progressive administration of the Colonies.

The Council, which is under the presidency of the Governor, comprises four *ex-officio* members (including the Air Officer Commanding British Forces), four official members, and eight unofficial members.

This was a happy event for the people of the Colony.

The second event was tragic and for a time it caused many of the activities of the Colony to be suspended to the detriment of trade and industry.

Following upon the declaration of a three days' general strike in Aden as from 2nd December as a protest against the partition of Palestine, there was an outbreak of great violence which was marked by murder, arson, looting and other forms of lawlessness. Police riot squads using tear smoke and controlled rifle fire ejected Arab mobs from the Jewish quarter in Crater, but as rioting spread rapidly the Police were reinforced by Aden Protectorate Levies, and on 3rd December H.E. the Governor proclaimed a state of emergency, and a curfew was imposed. The Fortress Commander took over the internal security control of the Colony. He was able to obtain the assistance of British naval landing-parties from H.M. ships which arrived on 4th December and reinforcements of British infantry were flown in on 5th December.

By 8th December the situation had been to a great extent restored, but calm was only on the surface and incidents during the next few days were still attempted. On 14th December it was possible to release H.M.S. *Challenger*, and most of the British infantry were moved back to quarters, leaving one platoon in Crater. On 15th December the two remaining H.M. ships, whose men had been of so much assistance, left, and on 17th December a third company of British infantry arrived in

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579 Aden by sea. On the day before, the Commissioner of Police had resumed control of security in the Colony.

It was hoped that this calm would be maintained, but on 20th and 21st December feelings again ran high and there were renewed attempts at arson and looting.

On 24th December a bomb exploded in the coolie lines at Hedjuff, killing 2 Arabs and wounding 6, and on that afternoon, in view of the gravely tense situation and of the absolute necessity to use all available forces to put down disorder immediately it should occur, the Fortress Commander was requested to resume security control throughout the Colony and retained that function until 2nd February, 1948. The situation however had eased at the end of the month.

Civilian casualties during the riots were 33 Arabs, 4 Indian Muslims, 1 Somali, 78 Jews and 6 other persons of unknown race, killed. Very many were known to have been wounded or injured.

The Police suffered no fatal casualties, but an Assistant Medical Officer and one Levy were killed in the execution of duty.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, FINANCE AND TRADE

Development Committee

646 At the meeting of the Legislature held on 28th April, 1947, the Council adopted the First Report of the Development Committee as the general development policy for the next ten years, subject to periodic review of details in the light of experience, and the inclusion of such additional schemes as might prove necessary as a result of unforeseen circumstances.

652 The Estimates of the Colony for 1948–49 provide a total of Rs. 27,27,000 for approved development schemes.

362 His Majesty's Government agreed to make a free grant under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act towards the cost of working-class dwellings at Sheikh Othman. The amount of the grant is £27,500 during a five-and-a-half-year period. A further grant will be considered at the end of that period.

Economic Control

439 The hopes expressed earlier that it would be possible to dispense with
654 the Economic Control Department as restrictions on trade were lifted were unfortunately not realised, and the economic crisis which confronts the United Kingdom and the whole of western Europe is having a natural effect on the economic life of Aden, which is dependent upon the maintenance of a vigorous trade for its prosperity.

Since August, 1947, a policy of restricting imports to reasonable essentials and to those goods which are required for the entrepot trade was followed. The merchants co-operated with Government in making this policy effective and as a consequence Aden was able to make a substantial contribution to important foreign exchange reserves. Many essentials remained scarce and in order to ensure that there should be no further reduction in the standard of living of the great bulk of the inhabitants Government maintained a policy of making adequate supplies of essential

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reported in detail under "Other Serious Crime" below, is still under active Police investigation. It was the third case of this sort in 1947. In the other cases offenders were arrested and sentenced to heavy terms of imprisonment.

The number of petty offences brought before the Courts increased. This increase was largely due to Police action in prosecuting beggars and persons causing obstructions. Thefts in the harbour increased during the first half of the year, but the energetic application of the new Port Rules began to bear fruit and a substantial drop in these offences resulted.

The question of deportations of undesirables continued to be a difficult problem for the Police, owing to the absence of effective frontier control. A large number of Yemen Arabs were deported and an almost equally large number re-deported. A number of Yemeni Jews were also deported to the Yemen by sea.

The strength of the Armed Police was maintained up to the authorised establishment of 250. Detachments of Armed Police were maintained at Kamaran and Perim.

The Civil Police strength was maintained up to establishment; health and discipline were good and the number of men who passed written examinations and thus gained proficiency pay was satisfactory.

Criminal Investigation Department

The department was in charge of a Senior Superintendent. Continuity of command could not be maintained, however, owing to leave requirements, and the department had to function under various officers. Changes had also to be effected in the clerical staff and as a result organisation was somewhat slowed down. It was possible, however, to open a C.R.O. system for criminals and deportees and it is most satisfactory to note that 285 C.R.O. files were opened during the year and 249 criminals and/or deportees photographed.

There were two cases of homicide which required supervision and assistance, and a case of inflicted grievous harm; these cases are more fully described on page 41.

Indexes continue to be built up and expanded.

For a period in December the department had virtually to close down owing to the paramount need for concentrating the whole of the available staff on the immediate task of quelling the riots.

The total number of cases registered under the Indian Penal Code was 1,233, as against 1,122 in 1946, and 1,010 in 1945; an increase of 111 cases in 1947 over 1946. A very large portion of the increase is represented by charges made before the close of the year in connection with the December riots, hence the true increase in Penal Code offences is very small indeed and it is most satisfactory that this should be so.

A total of 3,754 cases were also dealt with by Police under local ordinances and minor acts.

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674 The following table shows the incidence of crime in the different Station areas during 1945–46 (left-hand columns) and 1946–47 (right-hand columns):

	Harbour		*Tawahi*		*Maalla*		*Crater*		*Sheikh Othman*	
1. Homicide and attempted murder	—	—	3	6	—	—	—	—	1	16
2. Rape . . .	—	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	2	2
3. Unnatural offences	—	—	—	—	—	3	1	—	1	—
4. Other offences against person .	9	4	15	24	17	28	26	21	42	34
5. Malicious damage to property	—	1	—	—	—	1	2	—	1	1
6. House-breaking .	2	2	62	52	37	44	99	126	59	40
7. Criminal and house trespass .	1	1	2	11	8	1	10	9	10	8
8. Other offences against property	105	61	191	128	110	199	161	194	123	154
9. Other I.P.C. Offences . .	—	4	—	24	9	7	3	11	1	13
10. Offences against Local Minor Acts .	1,185	1,854	329	261	887	457	1,410	828	365	1,354
Total .	1,302	1,927	603	507	1,068	741	1,713	1,190	605	1,622

Of the total of 1,233 offences under the Indian Penal Code, 684 were brought before the Court, 469 cases were closed as undetected and 80 cases were pending in Court or under investigation at the close of the year. As will be seen from the preceding table, there was a slight rise in offences against property (736 as against 690 in 1946), but this was almost entirely due to offences connected with the rioting. 579

The total value of property reported stolen excluding that reported as a result of the riots was Rs. 1,97,820 against Rs. 2,85,370 in 1946 and Rs. 2,08,941 in 1945. Property to the value of Rs. 47,865 was recovered; this is just under 25 per cent. which, considering the ease with which stolen property can be disposed of, is not unsatisfactory.

The table of cases does not reflect those cases taken under the Civil Supplies Ordinance, the figures in respect of which are as follows:

Total number of cases . . .	25
Total sentences of imprisonment . .	2
Total value of fines inflicted . . .	Rs. 9,270
Total value of goods confiscated. . .	Rs. 6,088.10.0

The fall in this class of offence, as against 1946, is due to the almost complete cancellation of regulations governing the export from the Colony of the main classes of goods which were restricted in 1946.

Homicide

579 674 Of the total number of cases (22) first registered as murder 20 were opened in respect of Jews killed during the December riots and at the end of the year were still under enquiry. Of the other two cases one was registered at Sheikh Othman and the other at Tawahi.

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Immigration and Emigration

167 Immigration and emigration figures are given in Part II, Chapter 1.

Immigration bonds to the value of Rs. 76,400 were prepared and are on record in the C.I.D., and the figures for cash immigration deposits and refunds for 1947 are as follows:

Value of cash deposits . . .	Rs. 1,86,850
Value of cash refunds . . .	Rs. 1,24,475

The high value of the deposit total is largely due to the increase in these deposits permitted by an amendment effected to the Immigration Ordinance in 1947.

The Immigration Ordinance provides that an immigrant entering the Colony by land, or landing from a dhow if by sea, may be permitted to enter without producing any passport or travel document. Persons landing by dhow are now dealt with by the Police at a special Immigration Office at Maalla Wharf and the production of a travel document is demanded and an immigration cash deposit. This has led to a reduction in the number of unemployed Somalis in Aden, although many still enter undetected by landing at Ras Imran in the Western Aden Protectorate and entering the Colony by land.

PRISON

697 The Postmaster-General was in charge of the Aden Prison as part-time Superintendent during the year 1947.

There is only one prison in the Colony. It is used for all classes of convicts, and also for those on remand or awaiting trial.

The prison buildings are old and do not conform to modern standards. They were overcrowded, especially during the December disturbances, when at one time the population numbered 540.

The daily average of prisoners during the past ten years is as follows:

Year	*Daily Average*
1938	45
1939	53
1940	81
1941	126
1942	140
1943	212
1944	165
1945	196
1946	281
1947	244

[579] In 1947 the daily average for the first eleven months was 227. During the rioting, between 3rd and 10th December, it suddenly jumped to the record figure of 540. Such a high figure had never before been reached

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692 provides for appeals from the Supreme Court to be heard by the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa. Prior thereto appeals lay, under Article 20 of the Aden Colony Order, 1936, to the High Court of Judicature at Bombay. Before the introduction of this Ordinance that Article was revoked, and Orders in Council were made which extended to Aden the provisions of the Eastern African Court of Appeal Order-in-Council, 1921, and included Aden with the East African territories in the right of final appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

Criminal Court (Amendment) (No. 2) Ordinance, 1948, No. 23, which contains amendments consequential on the change in the Appeal Court; and in particular prescribes more fully than previously the procedure to be followed after a sentence of death.

659 Antiquities Ordinance, 1948, No. 24, which repeals the Antiquities Ordinance, 1940, and makes more comprehensive provision for the preservation of objects of archaeological interest, proper and scientific excavation, the control of export and import of antiquities and for the ultimate disposal of those found by licensed excavators.

278 Penicillin Ordinance, 1948, No. 25, which is to ensure that penicillin is used only on the advice of qualified persons.

362 A Bill entitled an Ordinance to make provision for Town Planning was introduced in the final session of Legislative Council and passed its second reading. It was referred to a Select Committee for reporting back to the Council in the first session of 1949. The Bill is a comprehensive one, there being no town planning legislation at the present time.

579 The normal work of the Legal Department was hampered during the early months of the year as a result of the aftermath of the riots which took
647 place in December, 1947. In particular there was an official enquiry
692 conducted by Sir Harry Trusted, K.C.M.G., K.C., at which the Department was represented; there were a large number of prosecutions for offences during the riots, and into appeals following thereon; and there was an enquiry by the Crown Counsel, appointed a Special Magistrate for the purpose, into some 800 claims under section 16 of the Police Ordinance, 1937, for damage suffered by members of the public during the riots. The investigation of these claims alone took approximately five months.

000 The Revised Edition of the Ordinances which was referred to in the Report for 1946 as being ready for printing in January, 1946, is still not ready for publication owing to the pressure of work on the persons concerned in the United Kingdom in indexing and printing. It is understood however that more than half of the work has been completed and it is hoped that the publication will be possible in the near future.

Chapter 9: Law and Order

JUSTICE

692 The Colony has a Supreme Court with unlimited civil and criminal jurisdiction. Up to 30th September, 1948, an appeal lay from the Supreme Court to the High Court of Judicature at Bombay. As from

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fewer. Be that as it may, of the total only 4,700 belonged to the original Jewish community of Aden: the rest—about 3,800—were Yemeni Jews in transit to Palestine. On arrival in Aden, after a most hazardous journey across the desert, the Yemeni emigrants were usually destitute and in a complete state of exhaustion.

Formerly they used to be quartered either in the Jewish part of the Crater district of the town or in the Jewish quarter of Sheikh 'Othman, about eight miles inland from the Crater. More recently, so much has their number increased, that a separate camp, known as Hashad camp, was for a time set up for them a mile and a half from Sheikh 'Othman. The Hashad camp, which has now been replaced by another—made available by the Aden Government—was subsidised by the Joint Distribution Committee and directed by a woman physician (a remarkable woman in many ways), Dr. Olga Feinberg.

Many of the Yemeni Jews in Aden are employed as coolies, casual labourers and hawkers, a number dwelling in the Coolie Lines and in caves in the rocks. The rest are mainly craftsmen (as they were in Yemen)—gold- and silversmiths, weavers, carders, thatchers, and so forth.

The Jewish community of Aden proper, numbering until recently between 4,000 and 5,000, is centred in the Crater, where Jewish shops, many of them in the Suq, are mingled with those of Muslims, Hindus, and Parsees. A few of the wealthier Jewish merchants have shops in the Steamer Point district, where the Government offices and better-class shops are situated.

Thanks to the generosity of the Menahem Messa family, until the riots, the community had a large and well-equipped school and a spacious new synagogue. In addition, there was another somewhat smaller school. Owing to the lack of qualified teachers, however, the standard of education is low. The new and richly decorated synagogue was also used as a kind of clubhouse, and was an habitual rendezvous when services were not in progress.

The relations between the old Jewish community of Aden and the Muslims used to be tolerably good. But the growing influx of Yemeni Jews led to the development of a certain degree of tension between them and the Muslim coolies, many of whom—incidentally—are themselves of Yemeni origin. It is also likely that inflammatory nationalist broadcasts from Egypt and other Arab stations in the Middle East, blaring out daily through loudspeakers in Aden cafés, have played their part in stirring up anti-Jewish feeling.

Following the appeal of the Arab League for a three-day protest strike against the decision of the United Nations to partition Palestine, an anti-Zionist demonstration in Aden developed into a riot. Jewish shops and houses in the Crater and in Sheikh 'Othman were attacked, many being burnt and looted.

From the official report of the Commission of Inquiry, it is evident that the reason why the British authorities were unable to bring the

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disturbances to an end for three whole days was that the Aden Protectorate Levies completely failed to do their duty. This locally-raised force, recruited from the Muslim tribes of the Protectorate area, not only failed to stop the rioters, but themselves took part in the looting of Jewish shops. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that the high number of Jewish casualties is due to the fact that the Levies turned their weapons on the victims of the riots instead of on the rioters.

Feelings run high in these matters, and there is always a temptation to attribute to bias in official quarters events caused merely by incompetence. It must be said, on the other hand, that the authorities themselves have done little to dispel suspicion of bias on their part. For instance, on December 5, 1947, the Governor of Aden sent a cable to the Colonial Secretary in London, part of which reads as follows:

"Alleged hostile activity of Jews created new dangerous tension, especially after killing of a Levy and an Indian Muslim Government doctor almost certainly by Jewish snipers."

The subsequent Commission of Inquiry, however, established that there was not the slightest evidence of the existence of any Jewish snipers whatsoever, and that the Indian doctor had in fact been shot by Levies (*Report*, pp. 14 and 21).

During the riots, both Jewish schools and four of the synagogues were burnt to the ground. Of the 170 Jewish shops in Aden, 106 were totally looted and another eight partially looted. About 220 Jewish houses were destroyed or damaged. Eighty-two Jews were killed, and a similar number wounded. Financially, the losses suffered by the Aden Jews are estimated at £1,150,000.

The riots had a devastating effect on the Jewish community, economically as well as socially and psychologically. The compensation (partly in the form of loans) offered by the Aden Government to help those who had lost everything to start afresh was totally inadequate. Moreover, widespread bewilderment and distrust had undermined the very basis of normal peaceful social relations between Jews and Muslims.

The American Joint Distribution Committee consequently decided on a large-scale evacuation plan—"Operation Magic Carpet"—as a result of which almost the entire Jewish population was ferried by air to Israel. At the time of writing, there are only 1,200 Jews left in Aden, of whom about a quarter have expressed a wish to emigrate.